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she has had in bringing babies into the world." If she has "a family of fine children of her own," it is a happy augury. Very important is her right to perform a ceremony, to pray and sing and treat the newborn infant ritually. It is not absolutely essential to have such a "ceremonial" woman in command at this time, but, since success in life depends so largely on ritual preparation, she functions in a majority of births. This woman is well paid for her services; some valuable property, often a horse, is her reward.

When the time for delivery draws near, the husband leaves the home. Unless an emergency arises, he cannot be present at the birth, for relatives of his wife to whom he stands in a relationship of respect and avoidance are certain to be there.[1]

There is no definite rule which bars other men from being present. In fact, they are sometimes asked to attend in emergencies. But usually "men don't come to a birth because there are so many women around, and a man would feel funny." Another factor which discourages their attendance is that discharges from the woman's body at childbirth are to some extent equated with menstrual blood, from which a man can contact painful swelling of the joints.

During delivery the woman kneels with legs apart before an oak post which she uses to steady herself. Assistants hold her arms if she requires aid. To facilitate the birth, the genitals may be bathed in water in which the pounded root of a plant (*Eriogonum jamesii*) has been boiled. A similar decoction will be used after the birth to insure rapid healing. To speed birth, four small, light-colored pieces of the inner leaves of narrow yucca may be swallowed with salt, one after the other. The midwife massages the woman's abdomen downward and receives the child. With a long black flint or with a sharp edge of a length of reed or yucca leaf, she cuts the umbilical cord about one and one-half inches from the baby's navel and knots the end or ties it with a strand of yucca-leaf string. If the child does not cry or breathe at once, cold water is dashed on its body. When a baby is obviously alive

[1] For an account of these observances see pp. 163–81.

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[856] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
[482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[492] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead. Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
751 badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child, a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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854 Once the child is old enough for the cradleboard, it becomes his almost permanent home for a number of months. This con- [142] tinuous stay in the cradle causes a slight occipital flattening of the head. The baby is laced in tightly and is removed only occa- [853] sionally. He may even be left in the cradle while he is nursed. He does have to be taken out when the soft grass, moss, or pul- 854 verized wild-rose bark, used as padding and as absorbent mate- 824 rial for the discharges, needs renewing. To prevent chafing, the [278] child is dusted with powder scraped from the bark of the heart- [856] leafed willow. A very young child is bathed in a decoction ob- tained by boiling the plant *Drymaria fendleri* "to make the skin strong."

854 As the child becomes more active and restless, beads and jingles of various kinds are strung from the canopy to engage his attention. After he is six or seven months old he is allowed more time outside the cradle and crawls vigorously around the camp.

854 During this crawling stage the child must be carefully watched, lest he come in contact with baneful substances which • 753 can cause sickness—worms, certain insects, and feathers from 825 evil birds such as the owl or the crow. Dogs are considered particularly inappropriate in a camp where there is a small child.

> If you have a little child crawling around and suddenly a dog barks at it and scares it, they say that the fright will go inside that child and make its heart sick. So they don't like dogs around much. If you have one, some man might come along and say, "Why do you have that dog around? Don't you know it is no good? It might scare your children and make them sick."

766 When a child is stillborn or dies while it is being carried in the [845] cradle, its body is hastily buried in a talus slope and is covered by rocks, branches, and earth. The cradle, if it has already been [768] made, has a different destination:

[352] They take the cradle and cut it so it will be recognized; cut slits in the buckskin, for instance. They hang it up in a tree which stands to the east of the encampment where the death took place. No one will dare to touch it. It is forbidden to touch it. If the cradle is still around the camp, it is hung out at the child's death even though the child is already walking when he dies. Sometimes the cradle is put in a place in a bluff.

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861 the boys or girls sees it and starts to run. Then the rest look and see the clown
535 coming. The children cry and run back to camp. And the clown will be running
865 after them, trying to hit them with the stick, throwing stones after them, but being careful not to hit them. I'll tell you, those children will not go far from camp any more!

Clowns accompany the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite, and parents of disobedient children, taking advantage of the fears already engendered, arrange to have Gray One "get after" their youngsters at this time.

861 The child is silenced, too, by dark forces, as fearful to adults as
825 to him:

From the earliest time I can remember I was afraid of the owl. It was not until much later that I knew why—that I knew the owl can cause evil influence to a person. When I was bad, my mother would make me listen to the hooting of the owl. "Listen to that!" she would say, and I would settle down and be quiet. She told me it was a bad animal and would catch me if I were bad.

The clue to the abhorrence for owls emerges in another account:

[775] It was taught to me in camp when I was small that ghosts and owls are related in some way. At night you go out in the woods over there by yourself. If you are a full-blood Chiricahua, you have been taught ever since you were a small child, "Don't ever throw anything at an owl. Never mock an owl. They are dangerous. They are ghosts." If you are out in the woods on a dark night after you have been taught in this way what owls are and you hear them close to you, you certainly are frightened. In those days they claimed Indians used to get
• [753] very sick from owls, and some shamans had to work to get them well.

861 Other devices for subduing unruly children are used:
865 There was an old man whom I did not like. He used to chase me and catch me whenever he saw me. So, when I was bad, my mother used to say that this old man was coming for me or that she was going to give me away to him.

Sometimes the old man comes to see the recalcitrant child at the parents' request:

When a child is mischievous, they call an old man who looks fierce. He is no relative. The old man limps in with a sack or blanket in his hand. He acts angry and shouts, "What's the matter?"

The father and the mother sit there. They say, "This boy won't obey. He is always fighting. You can take him and do what you wish with him. You can cut off his head or sit on him. We don't care. We aren't going to put up with him any longer." The boy begins to cry.

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755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] [825] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote or dog had made him sick.[1] One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] [823] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] [756] [533] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote. They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith, Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony

[775] lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

[1] Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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One of the reasons for telling the child about the underworld is to warn him of the machinations of ghosts who strive to lure him thither:

This is what I learned from my older relatives. The ghosts are supposed to go around in the early part of the night and then again when it gets on toward morning, from about two o'clock on. That's the old Chiricahua belief.

Toward morning a person will be dreaming. He dreams that ghosts are bothering him. He dreams of the underworld and the people there. Some of them he knows, some he doesn't know. He sees the beautiful land. They offer him food, a piece of yucca fruit or bread. When I was small my father and the older people told me that if I dreamed this I should not accept the fruit, for, if you accept it, it means that you are going to die and go to that place yourself.

The fear of the departed, and especially of departed relatives, plays a conspicuous part in adult life, in ideas of witchcraft, in aspects of social organization, and in shamanism. The basis for this is solidly laid in childhood:

I was pretty thin when I was a child. . . . . I used to be very much afraid too. I was influenced a great deal by the Indian beliefs about ghosts and used to get scared at night. I'd go over to someone else's bed and force myself upon him. Often I'd wake up screaming in the middle of the night, thinking I had seen someone near my bed. I'd dream of ghosts. A face would be bending over me, laughing. It would be just an outline, no features showing.

. . . . I always had a tendency to look back and see if anyone was following me when I was out at night. This is what the Chiricahua call being influenced by ghosts; I must have been suffering from ghosts.

Sometimes the child's panic reaches such proportions that a ceremony must be conducted over him:

Once when I was a boy we children were playing out at night. As I was coming home I felt that someone was touching me. I became frightened, ran home, fell in the door, and became sick. They performed a ghost ceremony over me. The shaman worked a fire drill. The first sparks that came he put in my mouth.[1] I came to my senses. Then the shaman prayed and finally he sang. I was small and do not remember more of the details.

There are cases where a child's ailment, though the symptoms are not so transparent, is finally interpreted as ghost or "darkness" sickness (to use the approved euphemism) and dealt with

[1] An evidence of the opposition of fire and the ghost (owl) which is believed to exist.

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753 accordingly: "I walked in my sleep and I talked, too, while I
755 walked. My father knew a ghost ceremony. He sang for me and I stopped."

No less memorable is a child's first acquaintance with witch-
869 craft. For his own protection this knowledge concerning people
754 who use supernatural power for evil ends must be communicated to him as soon as he is able to absorb it.

> You have to hide from witch people all the time and must not go too near them. That's what parents tell their children. "Don't go near that man. Don't go around his camp. Don't let him see you. Don't be too free and happy in his sight. When you pass a witch don't look toward him. Don't pay any attention to him. . . . . If they talk to you, answer. If not, pass them by and keep out of their way. If you have something pleasant to tell them, do it; if not, pass them by without a word."

869 Even ordinary instruction concerning personal cleanliness is
863 influenced by the same considerations:
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> Children were taught, "When you have to defecate, don't do it on the path where people pass." So they would go way out. . . . .
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> It is because of witchcraft that we are so very particular about it. Suppose a witch or his wife or child should step on it. There is no telling what he might do about it. He might witch you for it.

869 Gradually notions of witchcraft intrude into the life of the
754 child:

> I remember that I knew about witches at a very early age, when I was four or five years old. I was eight when I learned that S. was a witch. My grandmother told me so. Also I heard other children say it. One time he came to N.'s encampment. We children ducked around the home because they said he was a witch. I heard one man talking and saying that S. had tried to get married a number of times, but that he was always refused because he was a witch. They told us to keep out of his sight as much as possible, to refuse any gift from him, and not to let him do anything queer to us. Also we were told to treat him with respect when we met him so that he wouldn't do anything harmful to us. We were told not to offend him in any circumstances.
>
> The children were afraid of him, and when I was with them I acted this way too. But really I was curious. I wanted to learn more about this man. So when I was a little older I went to his place. I didn't let anyone see me. I went by a roundabout way. I went during the day. He was lying on the bed, singing a social dance song. He told me to come in. I expected to see something, to find some proof of his witchcraft. But I failed to see anything. He seemed just like a normal man to me that first time.

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Her grandmother told her this. It was the same with her sister. Her sister had a child, but it took a long time.

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The boy is exempt from the strict supervision to which the girl is subject. They "warn the boy about having a bad reputation. Boys are instructed all right, but you can't keep a boy back."

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Yet there are a number of dangers against which the boy has to be warned. He must be advised that contact with menstrual discharges will make his joints swell and ache. He must also be told that "sometimes boys have sexual relations with old women; that is why they die." Because unmarried girls are so sedulously restricted, there is always the possibility that a youth may thus jeopardize his health:

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Sometimes a boy would go around with an old, experienced woman. Bad blood gets into him from these bad women. He gets arm aches and leg aches. Sometimes he gets aching all over like this before he is thirty years old; sometimes he is dead from it before he reaches this age.

This is because he is giving his richest blood [semen] to these older women and getting nothing in return but their diseased blood [vaginal discharges] which they got from having intercourse over a long period of time with other men, some of them sick and old. The people laugh at a young fellow who does this. He gives his young, good blood and prolongs and saves that woman's life.

I know a woman like that. She is an older woman who has been having intercourse with all kinds of men. J. was a young man. He became intimate with her and was very sick almost at once. She is still living and still doing it. The young men just shorten their lives by going with women like this. The bad blood that they get from such women comes out in lumps and sore joints.

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It is usually the father who counsels the boy in these matters; often he adds frightening details:

I was taught by my father, "Don't do anything to any woman. They have teeth in there. They bite off your penis. And some have diseases." I've heard many parents say the same thing to boys.

Once my father gave me something sweet. He said, "You like this. You like to eat it; it tastes good. You like to live and be well. Then keep away from girls and women. Don't have anything to do with them. They have teeth and will bite off your penis."

Finally I asked some older boys about this. They told me, "No, the old people just tell that to you to scare you. There isn't anything to it. When you get a good thing, don't let it go. If you live long enough, you're going to do it anyway, so you're just going to be the loser if you let a good chance pass."

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881 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the paint-
535 ing and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and chil-
[776] dren, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits
[754] with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints
[534] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accom-
[531] panying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon
[789] this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep
[826] his voice from becoming hoarse."

The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance
535 group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on
> [821] there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:
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753 > Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the
> [756] mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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The old man said, "Look here, that kind of talk doesn't go here! You men should be praying in your hearts. Pray for all the good things. Be saying, 'Let me be a reliable masked dancer. Let me be reliable in life.' That's what you should be doing while you are in this brush hut."

Just as soon as the old man stopped talking, there S. was again, cursing. Well, we went out, the three of us. We came toward the fire. The last minute S. was putting on the mask. He couldn't get it on. He said, "I can't get this damn thing on! How does this damn thing work?" I told him, talking softly, "Don't talk that way." You can't talk in a loud voice when you are in the mask. "Have some manners!"

The old man heard and said, "Hey, what are you doing? Now if anything happens to you, you'll say you are witched, but I warned you." S. said, "Oh, I always forget."

We went out to the fire. The first time we approached the fire, S. bumped into me. I heard him laughing. Every time we went around and started toward the fire he bumped into me. I said softly, "Keep your distance and be careful." I was leader. He was right behind me.

All of a sudden I noticed S. was putting his hands to his head. He just took his sticks and pressed them to his head. Then I saw him break out of line and run away from the fire. He ran right to his camp, pulling off his mask. His camp was just a little way from the grounds. They found him there crying and yelling and rolling around.

Pretty soon they sent a message to D. "That man who danced for you is pretty sick," they told him. The next time we came out from the fire, D. came to us. "We'll have to go right over and see that boy," he said. So we went over. S. was just like out of his head. He was rolling around, trying to stand on his head. They couldn't hold him down.

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D. told me to work on him, because I was the leader. T. came behind me in the dancing, but I was the only one that touched S. The old man was singing his songs and praying while I was working on S. First I came toward him from the east. The fourth time I crossed my sticks over his head. Then I grabbed his head in both hands and shook it, shook it hard. You can't be gentle with them. Besides I was angry at missing the dancing over there at the grounds all because of his foolish talk. He yelled, but I pulled him around good. I did this from the south, west, and north too. Each time I shook him we made the masked-dancer call, and then I blew his sickness away to the four directions, beginning with the east.

After I finished, D. said to him, "Now you're all right; nothing is the matter with you. Get up, no matter how you feel, and follow these men." So S. followed us, and we went around once and then went toward the east.

"All right," said D., "you fellows go back and dance. He will be better now. He will be over there at the feast pretty soon."

So we went back. While we were dancing I watched for S. I looked around every once in a while to see if he was there. Pretty soon I saw him there, laughing and clapping his hands, having a good time. It was just about an hour after we

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had worked on him. I don't know what made that fellow well. I didn't do it. I just followed D.'s directions. It wasn't I but it was D.'s power that did it. The old man knew what was wrong with S. and how to cure him.

As this story indicates, whenever the dancer gets into difficulty because of his participation, it is to the masked-dancer maker that he must turn. Said one of these shamans, "If a dancer who is working for me gets a pain in his foot, I put a feather on his foot, and it goes away."

The dancer must observe suitable modesty and remember that he is but an instrument of the rite and not its owner:

One man got into trouble from this. He danced three or four times. Then he made his own outfit and carried it on, though he had no right to the ceremony. Soon his baby got sick, and no one could cure her. When she died she made the masked-dancer cry and held her hands outward.

When I asked a man who had acted as a masked dancer to sketch the designs which had been put upon him, he replied that he was not sure he could do this. Later he refused entirely, saying, "I asked T. if I could draw his masked dancers, and he said, 'You'd better leave those Mountain Spirits alone,' so I can't do it."

The subordinate role of the masked dancer is emphasized in another statement:

If I learned that song without getting the whole ceremony, without having the whole thing turned over to me, if I didn't get it in a spiritual way, it wouldn't do me good. If I painted a man, I might do it in this same way, but it would just make both of us sick. I can pound on the hide and sing the refrain with the chorus, but I shouldn't sing the words of the prayer in the [masked-dancer] song if it isn't mine. The dancer is just in there working for the one who knows the ceremony. I can't tell, just because I danced for him, whether R.'s masked-dancer ceremony is good. He has a good outfit all right.

A man must have natural aptitude to become a successful dancer:

According to my understanding about being a masked dancer, it comes like anything else. After you do it once the feeling for it comes to you if you are the right kind for it. I did exactly as I was told, and right from the first time I was almost as good as the best dancer. I ran around that fire all night long. Right from the beginning I was getting better every night. And I was dancing with old-timers. People hardly knew the difference between me and those other dancers.

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power of those dancing, but because "the real Mountain Spirits could bring on sickness or death if these things were violated."

The added strength of the masked dancers is attributed to the costumes they wear:

The costume gives the dancer strength. He doesn't get tired. There are no holes near the nose for breathing in the masks. The man wearing the mask is fighting for breath. When he gets tired, he runs his sticks around his body and then flourishes them in the air, and in this way he rids himself of his tiredness. If it was not for this, he couldn't last through one song. [828]

When the masked dancers return, a knot of men assembled just northeast of the entrance of the ceremonial structure is ready to beat out the measure of the songs with stout sticks on a thick piece of rawhide. Others hold buckskin-covered pottery drums which they will strike with curved drumsticks. [534]

From the east the masked dancers spring into the glare of the firelight and move swiftly around the fire:

When the leader of the masked dancers throws his arms wide, this means to the singers that they are to begin. The men at the rawhide know that this is the signal. If they don't start to sing, the dancers go past them, then turn toward them and repeat the gesture. If they don't start then, the dancers can leave the grounds if they want to. Many times I have done that. I figured, "Well, I'm not going to let them just watch me! It's no use to run around here without any song." Sometimes, as you come toward the rawhide after blessing the fire, they start right in. Then, as you go past, you cry, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" which is just like saying, "That's fine! That's what we want!" The masked dancers can't talk but they make that sound. It means, "Go ahead and sing." I was told to make the masked-dancer call when turquoise, abalone, cloud, Mountain Spirit, White Painted Woman, and other holy things and people were mentioned in the songs. [198]

The songs to which the dancers perform at the feast grounds are not the same as those to which they were painted but are associated with definite dance steps. The shaman may know and use both kinds of songs, but just as often another person will lead the singing during the evening. The relatives of the adolescent girl have to make sure that some qualified person will be present to perform this function. 535 533 881

I am an official singer for masked dancers. The parents of the girl will ask me to sing at their feast. They pay me. I will be singing for one family. I learned these songs. I sat in and gained experience. No one else would sing my songs. It's not done.

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842 827 648 595 Not long ago the idea that a child may have more than one father was introduced in a legal dispute. A man had been practicing polygyny with two sisters. Since plural marriages are banned by white edict, only one of these women could be registered as his lawful wife. When the other became pregnant, the problem arose of how to answer the queries of the agency officials. Finally, the woman blamed another young man for her [837] condition, and, since he admitted having had intercourse with her three times, it seemed that he would be punished and be forced to support the baby. It was here that native doctrine was invoked. A legally minded brother of the accused man proved to the superintendent that the "secret husband" had been having relations with this woman and asserted that the child belonged "more to that man than to anyone else." It is doubtful that the superintendent understood the latter statement, but he was enough impressed by the testimony concerning the woman's irregular conduct to reduce the threatened punishment.

826 833 With the theory of blood accumulation goes a concept of blood exchange. The primary result of sexual intercourse is to add male blood to the store of female blood. The condition of the generative blood of the man is modified by his age and the state of his health. The blood accumulated within a woman has two special characteristics in addition. First, it is associated some- [841] how with the menstruum. Menstrual blood is most dangerous to men; contact with it brings, at the least, rheumatic joints. [753] Therefore, men fear it and avoid intercourse with menstruating women. Second, a woman's blood is in a special category because, if she is promiscuous, her augmented supply represents the contributions of many men of dubious soundness.

826 833 753 This fully explains the warning to young men against tampering with older women of bad reputation. Evidently, it is suspected that during intercourse the man's genitals may come in contact with the woman's blood and that any disease which it carries can be thus transmitted to him. Tuberculosis, for instance, has been considered communicable in this way:

> In the time before my day and my father's day, the Chiricahua didn't know what tuberculosis was. They knew that sometimes a man's stomach got bad and

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood—have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.—Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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FOLK BELIEFS, MEDICAL PRACTICE AND SHAMANISM

FOLK BELIEFS, MUSCULAR TREMORS, AND DREAMS

ALL items of belief are by no means of equal importance. They range in significance from the trivial to those basic for the ceremonies. Many of them are of no great moment and, indeed, may be uttered half in jest.

753 522 431 They say in the way of a joke that you get a rash from giving things and taking them back all the time. You have to put ashes on the rash, which is called "lice sew you up." If you are stingy, the person from whom you take things says, "I wish you'd get warts" [such warts should be cut off with sinew], or, "I wish you'd get the rash."

827 787 [522] Sneezing, which indicates that "someone is thinking of you," may also be treated jokingly:

Upon sneezing, they say, "I am still here for you," or, "Sometime we will see each other again, sweetheart." Once two old men and I were together. One sneezed, and he made this remark. The other told him, "Nobody is thinking of you, you old fool! All that means is that you're catching cold."

Yet some regard the sneeze as an ominous sign and pray to the culture hero or exclaim, "May it be well!"

When the ear rings, "someone is talking about you," and young people think the speaker is one of their admirers. Some persons regard a frequent buzzing in the ear as a sign that good news will be heard; others say it is the calling of a dead relative. [821] A burning sensation in the ear is a harbinger of cold weather.

821 [825] Rings around the sun and moon indicate change of weather, rain, or snow. Rain will come if a horned toad or a snake is killed and turned on its back, if a dog rolls on the ground, if there is a good deal of drumming in the camps or much singing of masked-dancer songs. Smoke from a big fire kindled on a still night will cause clouds to gather. The crescent moon "is draining" when its tip is pointed downward, and rain falls. "A dark, heavy, pouring rain is male; a light rain when the horizon seems bright [831] nevertheless is called female rain."

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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821 [789] [539] Another thing to do when the lightning flashes is to make a spitting noise and say, "Let it be well, my brother, Lightning," or to say, "Strike high, my brother." Thunder you call grandfather when it hits close. When lightning is very close and sounds just as if it is going to tear up the ground, you say:

"Continue in a good way;
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people."

[753] Sickness induced by or through Thunder is frequent, and special practices and curative rites have grown up to cope with such disorders.

773 776 821 823 Through the mythology an association is established between water and lightning. In most versions of the birth of the culture hero, his mother is impregnated by Water, but in one variant Lightning strikes at the divine woman four times and thus causes her to conceive Child of the Water. Another version, after describing the impregnation by Water, relates that Lightning tests the hero, discovers him to be his son, and later helps him conquer a giant.

Another myth tells of a quarrel between Thunder and Wind concerning their respective abilities. They separate, to the great detriment of the earth. Finally a meeting is arranged, and, with Sun as mediator, they agree to labor together once more. As an aftermath:

The breathing of the thunder created four persons, and these were sent out in the four directions, and they were told that, whenever the earth trembles, they should come to the center. Lightning and Wind used their power to make the earth as it was before, with green grass and the proper amount of water.

773 776 825 The existence of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and natural forces sets the stage for the appearance of the animals of the mythological period. These animals look and talk like men. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, turns benefactor for a short interval by stealing fire from those who have hoarded it and spreads it throughout the world. But, by opening a bag which he has been told to leave untouched, Coyote looses darkness. This is acceptable only to the night prowlers and fierce animals; the birds and the small harmless creatures

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Supernatural power further protects the warrior against his enemies by making him invulnerable to their arrows and bullets. The control of weather and natural events are other objectives of ceremonialists:

> There is a ceremony to bring rain when it is very dry. Then we get rain by calling on White Painted Woman and Child of the Water. The world is White Painted Woman. The thunder is Child of the Water. Sand, a whitish sand from Old Mexico, is used in this ceremony to call the rain. It is blown to the four directions. Also Lightning is called on when the sand is blown, and a blowing noise, "Hoo, hoo!" is made. In the prayer there is mention of the number of days it should rain.
>
> I have a ceremony which, if carried out on the desert, would cause a sandstorm. But this would be uncomfortable for the people, and so I dislike to do it. It is a prayer. I used it when men were going to make a raid for horses so that they could get away without being detected. I throw sand into the air, blow against it four times, say the prayer, and it causes sand to blow around so thick that you can't see.

The length of day or night can also be controlled through power:

> When he was on the warpath, Geronimo fixed it so that morning wouldn't come too soon. He did it by singing. Once we were going to a certain place, and Geronimo didn't want it to become light before he reached it. He saw the enemy while they were in a level place, and he didn't want them to spy on us. He wanted morning to break after we had climbed over a mountain, so that the enemy couldn't see us. So Geronimo sang, and the night remained for two or three hours longer. I saw this myself.

MEDICAL PRACTICES

The nonritual treatment of ailments.—Though it is true that most of the ceremonies deal with ill-health, it does not necessarily follow that all sickness must be treated ceremonially. An individual may become sick through surfeit or through want; he may weaken himself by overexertion; he may suffer injury because of carelessness or needless daring. Advancing years bring their infirmities; old age "can kill you." "There are several ailments you can get by not taking care of yourself, by foolishness—such things as tuberculosis and venereal diseases." Of course, in any particular case, the reasoning may be reversed, and a malevolent person or force may be blamed finally for the trouble.

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ceremony to save him, an herbalist, a man or woman who knows what plants will help this sickness, may be called in at the same time. In fact, the shaman may advise this. His power may tell him that someone who knows a good plant is needed. I know cases where a man is pretty sick with gonorrhea and they get him well.

Illnesses peculiar to women are treated by a combination of herbalism and ceremonialism often:

If menstruation stops and the woman is not with child, it is a serious disease called "blood is in her." It can cause a woman to die. For this "flint medicine" is used. This is a lightning-riven twig. The wood is chipped off, boiled in water, and the medicine put in a bowl or cup. Whoever gives it marks it with pollen, performs a ceremony with pollen, and then it is drunk. Just people with special knowledge can perform the ceremony.

For pain at the monthly period and for an excessive flow of menstrual blood, this medicine is also given. Sometimes scrapings from a flint or "thunder arrow" are added before it is taken.

So great a scourge is tuberculosis that plants considered effective against it assume much importance, and their use is accompanied by a great deal of ritual. The most highly esteemed specific for this disease is "narrow medicine," *Perezia wrightii*:

"Narrow medicine" is powerful. It is a root which is ground up and put into water. It is not boiled. Water is put in a shallow basket which is lined with pitch to make it watertight. Then the medicine is added to the water, and four hot stones are put in. It is necessary to use four. It foams up when it is heated. There is a prayer, and a cross of pollen is put on the medicine. Then pollen is held to the four directions and put on the head and back of the patient. A cup of the medicine is taken and held to the directions four times. Then the patient drinks. This is good for tuberculosis. Lots of people get well from taking it.

After taking the medicine, the patient lies out in the sun and gets heated up. He vomits up all the tuberculosis. If he doesn't vomit, he has to defecate. It works either way. Sometimes you see the tuberculosis worm alive and about a half-inch long. Then the patient starts to regain his health.

This herb has been in use a long time. My great-grandmother used it. If the patient is not too far gone, it works. It is given only once or twice. If you take much of it, it makes you weak. It is very expensive. You give a great many things for it—even a horse.

If the person giving it does not know the secrets of it and puts too much in, the patient will go crazy and kill himself. If you don't know the secrets, even though you know the right amount to give, it will hurt you. Tuberculosis is usually treated by old women who know a good deal about herbs.

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ORIGINS OF DISEASE

753 825 *Contaminating animals.*—Ailments which do not yield to ordinary herbal remedies or to decoctions ritually administered are thought to have been contracted from unclean animals or from animals or supernaturals capable of sending disease when offended, defied, or instigated by malevolent forces. It is to combat sickness of this kind that the intricate curing ceremonies are reserved.

753 825 828 There are different ways in which the disease reaches the individual:

Here are three ways that you can get sickness from an animal or from some other source. One is by getting scared. This is typical of owl disease. It is the thrill of terror, the moment of cold fright, that is really the entrance of the evil influence into your body. You might have such an experience and not be sick for months. Then, when you get sick you remember. You say, "Ah, that is when it happened, when I was so frightened." Another way is by smell, odor. Bear and lightning sickness may be spread in this way. Another way is touch. Contact with hides of the evil animals such as the bear, wolf, and coyote will give you the disease.

753 825 The greatest caution is observed toward animals and forces which can do so much harm:

If a Chiricahua tells a story about a bear or any animal or thing that can sicken him, at the end he says, "I'm talking about pollen and all kinds of fruit. Let everything be as good as ever." He makes believe that he isn't talking about that animal.

Formerly the Chiricahua would seldom say the regular word for bear. They would call it "mother's sibling." It doesn't like to be called by the regular word. It gets after you when you say that. Bear is also called "wide foot" and "large buttocks." It likes to be called "ugly buttocks" too. We call the thunder "grandfather" and the snake "yellow flowers." We spit when lightning flashes.

Of the animals which are unreservedly dangerous to those who do not "know" their supernatural power, the most important are the bear, the coyote, the snake, and the owl.

Bear.—The general attitude toward the bear, the manner in which bear disease is contracted, and some of the symptoms of the ailment are described by one man as follows:

[262] The bear, like the coyote, causes evil influence. It is killed only in self-defense, for no bear meat is eaten and we are afraid to skin a bear. If you come in

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contact with the track of a bear, or a tree where a bear has leaned, or bear manure, or if you sleep where a bear has sat down, or if you come in contact with a bear by smell or touch, you can get sick.

[828]

The smell is very important. As soon as it gets in a person through smell, that person is under evil influence. If a person does not come in contact with a bear but is scared by a bear, it causes sickness too. The condition of fright that a man gets in causes his sickness.

[732]

A person suffering from bear sickness gets run down. It seems like he is smelling that bear all the time. At night he is always dreaming that he has hardly got away from a bear that is chasing him, or something like that. . . . . Bear sickness often shows up in a deformity, in a crooked arm or leg.

Should the path of a bear be accidently crossed, an attempt is made to deceive the bear about it. "If you have to cross the tracks of a bear, you say, 'It was a year ago.' It is the custom to say that to make it appear that it happened a long time ago, so the evil influence will keep away."

Specific symptoms equated with the characteristics of the bear mark the onset of bear sickness:

When a man is sick from bear, he acts like a bear. First he gets a pain all over his body. Then his mouth is twisted, and he bites. His whole face twists. His body swells.

Long ago at Fort Stanton two men got sick from bear and died. These two men were out. It was snowing. There was a big pine tree. A bear had been there. The two men slept there all night. They got sick from it. Their arms went behind their backs, and they growled like bears. I saw them when they were sick. They tried to bite me.

[755]

A long time ago, when I was a child, I was playing in a cave where a bear had lived. Pretty soon I got sick. I got tired, wanted to lie down, and foam came out of my mouth as it does from the mouth of a bear when he is tired. They had a ceremony performed for me, and I got better. The shaman sang, and I got well that same night.

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Coyote, wolf, fox, dog.—The coyote, if he is molested, can, at the very least, bring bad luck or an accident:

Our dog ran ahead [after a coyote]. Suddenly the dog doubled his tracks and ran right in front of S.'s horse. The horse went over as S. tried to avoid the dog, and S. fell and hit his head. He didn't come to for a long time. We were far away from anyone, and I didn't have any water. All I could do was sit there and hold his head and fan him with my hat. By and by he came to. That's what the old men say about coyotes; they say that Coyote is bad and that something always happens to you if you go after one.

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753 732 825 More serious is a disease, marked by deformity, which Coyote is capable of causing:

When a person has it, his face gets lopsided with the mouth pointing one way. Or he gets cross-eyed, or his legs or hands get cramped. There is a disfiguration somewhere. You can get it from a coyote—from touch or fright or smell, or from crossing its tracks. We kill coyotes sometimes, but we don't touch the skins.

Eye defects, particularly, are attributed to coyote sickness. "One man whose eyeballs turn up told me that his eyes were all right until he used a coyote skin for a rug. Since then his eyes have been bad."

753 825 The coyote shares his evil reputation with the wolf and the fox. Most informants class the three together and claim that the ceremony that will cure sickness from one of them will serve for illness brought by the others. There is a definite feeling that the fox is the least dangerous of the trio and that the coyote is the most baneful. The appearance of a fox, however, is taken as an [763] omen of impending death: "Gray Fox . . . . is connected with death. If at dark Fox goes near some camps, that means that someone in that group is going to die."

In the following discussion the nexus between wolf sickness and the evil influence of the coyote is made clear:

[777] [732] [755] The wolf, coyote, and fox . . . . bring bad luck and make you sick, even if you only touch them or smell their breath. Such contact deforms a person, making him cross-eyed, turning his lips, and making him twitch. At Fort Sill an old lady had her dog follow a wolf. The woman went after the wolf in order to help her dog, and she pulled the wolf, which was in a hole, by the hind leg. She became ill. She began to get cross-eyed and to shake, and her lips became crooked. Geronimo was living then, and he sang over her and cured her."[10]

231 177 Of dogs the people say: "We didn't have dogs in the old days. Dogs make a lot of noise. The Chiricahua were on the run and couldn't have them." "We have had them only since contact with the whites." Evidently the dog was at first greatly feared:

231 753 825 The dog was classed with the coyote, wolf, and fox. We felt that all of them could cause you trouble. We wouldn't touch the skin of a dead dog. When you have a disease from a dog, the saliva comes down as it does with a mad dog. You get a little crazy and go, "Aaaa!"

[10] Geronimo's coyote power ceremony (pp. 40–41) is probably what was used on this occasion.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either."

Snake."—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a supernatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

"The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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753 825 On the banks of Medicine Creek at Fort Sill I went fishing. I left my cap on a bank. I went back to the village. The next day I went to look for my cap. I found it and wiped off the sweat from my face with the cap.

753 755 825 The next day my face was swollen. My relatives did not know what was wrong. They consulted an old shaman, a woman. She could trace everything from her singing. She said prayers and sang four songs over me. No one knew what was wrong. While she sang, she saw a cap on a bank. It was mine. While she was looking at it, she saw something moving and coiling around inside the cap. My relatives asked me about my cap. I told them what had happened. Then the old lady knew what had happened. A water moccasin had got into my cap.

753 825 There are many ways of contracting the disease:

[761] A person gets sick by being bitten. . . . . The sloughed skin of the snake will also cause the sickness. If I pick up the skin where I am weeding, it causes death too. A person can get sick from being scared by a rattlesnake. . . . . A person gets sick from smelling the snake. If a person lies where a snake has been, he gets sick from that.

[578] Mention of the snake is usually avoided except in invective: "The snake is used in quarreling. Sometimes people say, 'I wish a snake would bite you!' " But this, too, has its dangers:

If a man says in anger, "I hope a snake bites you," he will get sick from snakes. He has a bad mouth. Before this the snakes have not bothered him, but he's got a bad mouth, and it's bound to make him sick.

The fate of an impious man who defied the precepts for commercial gain is told today:

Every spring white spots used to come around that man's mouth. It happened right up to the time of his death. This is because he did things against the Chiricahua's way. He went around and fooled with rattlesnakes. Many people living here have seen what would happen to his mouth every spring.

He used to catch rattlesnakes and skin them and sell the skins. He was a strong man, and he used to grab them in the back of the neck and strangle them to death. Then he'd skin that snake. He'd take out his knife and cut it open. He'd put one end of the skin in his mouth, with the blood and fat all over him and streaming down his face, and he'd pull at it to separate the skin from the rest. He used to call to other people, "Come here! Get hold of this!" But no one would go near him. After that he got sick from it and got these white spots every spring. The Chiricahua doesn't want to have anything to do with snakes. I know I don't even want to look at a rattlesnake.

825 231 Even animals are susceptible to the malignant influence of snakes:

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825 The owl represents the spirit or ghost of a person who was bad during his life
775 and continues to be vicious after death. He works by entering the body of an owl and exercises evil influence in this way. Those who were desperate in life, such people as murderers and those who were given to jokes of a rough nature, are the ones likely to assume such a form after death.

This is what I heard in my young days—I remember my father telling me of it. Our belief is that, when the Chiricahua who has been a bad one dies, he turns to an owl. We believe that the bad ones go right into the owl at death, at once. The others who were good through life go to the underworld.

Since the owl is the ghost of a malicious human being, its hoot is interpreted as a dire warning:

I'm not so much afraid to kill an owl or even to handle it; it's the call! When I was in sheep camp, I listened closely and it seemed to me that it was talking the Chiricahua language. Some say they hear it say, "I'm going to drink your blood!" My wife says it sounds that way to her. Some say it sounds like, "I'm one of your relatives." To me it sounds like, "I'm a Mescalero." Some believe that dead relatives are in the form of the owl. They don't want to hear it. It's not the owl itself which is the dead person, but the voice. The owl always fools around the place where a person has died.

825 These "words" of the owl can cause sickness through fright:
775 If you hear an owl, you know a ghost is near by, for the owl is connected with
753 the ghost. The ghost uses him, goes into his body. Owls talk the Chiricahua language. They say different things to different people. To me it seems like they are saying, "All your people are going to get killed." The call of the owl is very powerful. It can get into your body and cause trouble.

Most people, feeling that direct reference to evil invites its appearance, are unwilling to speak of owl or ghost sickness. Therefore, because ghosts and owls are both particularly active at night, the malady which they bring is most often designated "darkness sickness."

825 An actual encounter with an owl is a harrowing experience:
775 The Chiricahua are afraid of the owl. It is because the owl stays around the
753 place where people have died, and when it comes it is a sign that someone is going
781 to die. Many people, when they hear the call of the owl, get frightened and faint.
[761] My wife went through an experience with the owl. About a hundred paces from her my wife saw a person in black. This person was walking toward her. When it got close, it changed to an owl and flew at her. When it flew up, it tried to sit on her head. She fought off the owl, and it flew away. I wasn't at home at the time. When I came home my wife was still trembling. I knew a ceremony toward the owl, and so I performed it and made her well again.

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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that. [761]

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It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

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The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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781 and, because it was late and he didn't want to hurt the girl's reputation, he didn't want to be seen with her. So they went up on the side of a hill. He heard someone laughing and talking on the other side. He told the girl to stay where she was and went to the edge and looked down. Nothing was there. It was impossible to block a clear view on this road. No one could go back or forth without being seen. He didn't tell the girl about it, for he didn't want to scare her.

I know this man well, and he is pretty reliable. I said to him, "Maybe it was just a horse." He said, "No, I could have seen a horse from that mountain."

This boy married the girl he was with on this occasion. She died. She didn't live long after that—only four years. It's funny! Ghosts come around the Chiricahua all the time. That's why we believe in ghosts.

Occasionally, the ghost is neither seen nor heard but makes itself known in some other way:

Sometimes a ghost throws a stone at a person and makes fun of him. My cousin, my wife, and her sister were going up a canyon to a ranch. It was toward evening. They were being drawn by a pretty lively pair of mules. My cousin sat in front and my wife in the back of the wagon. As they were going around a cliff, they saw a stone come through the air. It was thrown under the mules. The way it came proved that it could not have rolled. Three neighbor boys lived around there, but they were away that day. The mules were frightened and nearly tipped the wagon over. It must have been a ghost that threw the stone. No one else could have done it.

There are times when the ghost is discernible as an amorphous black or white object:

One day, after I was married, I was riding my mule back from Whitetail. My young brother-in-law was with me, and we got lost in the woods and could not get out before dark. We got into a canyon neither of us knew. And up among the trees I saw something white. I didn't think anything of it, but in a few minutes I saw it again. Still I thought it was a wild white horse or a bare patch of earth. Right then my mule began to balk and rear. I couldn't do anything with her. I got off and called to my brother-in-law, but it was a long time before I could lead that mule out of the canyon. Finally, we got our directions and got home.

• [753] I rode up to the camp and called to my wife to take the mule. I was so weak I could hardly get off. I couldn't even tell her what was the matter. She had to help me in, and I was just ready to die. My mother-in-law knew a great deal, and she said, "He is sick from darkness." . . . . I said to my young brother-in-law, "Did you see anything white when my mule shied?" But he hadn't seen anything at all. So he didn't get sick.

A footprint may be the only tangible evidence that a ghost has paid its unwelcome visit:

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This happened to S., and he was a good Christian then. He was asleep by a window. It was at the time of a big snow. That night someone knocked at the window. S. and his wife heard it. At first they paid no attention. Finally S. called and asked who was there. He received no answer. They went to sleep. In the morning they went to the window and saw a track there. S. started to follow it. The trail led to the mountain. He followed it for a while, but he got tired and came back. Tracks like that usually lead to graves. [775 781]

The greatest misfortune of all is to see the ghost in human-like form and to recognize the actual features:

I have heard stories of persons who have seen the dead. Those who see things like that die within a year. A certain man's wife died. At that time he was well. After her death he saw his wife; she came back and talked to him. She said, "It is a better world where I am. Come on." This man took sick and died a short time afterward. There is no way to protect yourself or prevent your death when a thing like this happens. [763]

Most often it is in dreams that the dead are distinctly seen: [775 787]

Ghosts appear also in dreams, in sleep. That is the worst form, I guess. You really see them in a dream. I get like that. The door opens and they get closer and closer. I want to get up and fight, but I can't move. I can just say, "Ah!" The Chiricahua say this is ghost sickness. It can make a person very ill. It's a sign of trouble with evil ghosts if you do that too much, and you have to go to a shaman about it. [753]

Sometimes at midnight or toward morning while you are asleep, you dream that a person is choking you. It might be a dead person, a relative gone a year or two ago. If it happens for another night or two, you must go to a ghost shaman. If you see a dead person in your sleep, you are not going to last long, they say. [763]

A dream in which his recently deceased friend appeared before him was described by a much-shaken informant:

This morning about four o'clock I dreamed of Old P. standing at the door. I woke up frightened and grabbed my wife. Maybe he came back because I sang his ceremonial song. The very night that P. died I dreamed he came to me. I didn't tell my wife because she would have been frightened. But they don't bother me much. I have my cross,[12] and they stay away. P. claimed that he knew nothing but Yusn and Child of the Water.[13]

[12] The cross of the Silas John cult, a modern religious movement which draws in part from aboriginal religious ideas, in part from Christianity. The cross, made of algerita wood, is worn to ward off evil and witchcraft. [794 824 789]

[13] The informant here is trying to reassure himself. Since Yusn and Child of the Water are beneficent supernaturals, he is proving to himself that his departed friend can be up to no mischief. [776]

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775 787 Ghosts are often outspoken concerning their intentions and their death wishes. "I dreamed last night of C. who is dead. C. said to me, 'Why don't you hurry up and die?' I replied, 'I don't die because I don't know any false ceremony.' "

Dreams of dead blood relatives and affinities are not infrequent. "I dreamed of one of my relatives by marriage who is dead. I dreamed that she came back and held my grandchildren in her arms. . . . . If anyone dreamed about his dead relative nearly every night, he would cry every day. It makes his heart feel very bad."

The most terrifying dream of all is that in which one accepts food from a deceased relative, for such acceptance, as has already been noted, is a sign of immanent death.

Frequently a person recovering from a serious illness, during which he has lapsed into unconsciousness, tells those about him that he has been to the underworld. In one such case, an old woman is said to have visited the camps of her dead kin. Two young relatives met her and warned her not to accept food at her father's home if she wished to get back to the earth. Though she was urged to partake of the food, she refused and was able to reach the upper world and return to her body once more. The same theme is encountered in another of these tales:

> Once a man who was very sick and out of his head went to sleep. He visited the other world and saw his friends and relatives through a kind of partition. He was offered food that was all laid out and marked with pollen as it is on the fifth morning of the girl's puberty rite. His guide, though his relative and friends urged him to eat, told him not to take the food, as he could not return to this world again if he ate it.

775 753 The symptoms of darkness sickness usually present a picture of extreme terror:

> If you feel numb around the heart and in the chest, if, when you go to bed, as soon as you close your eyes, something scares you and you get a bad headache and vomit, that is ghost sickness.

> Ghost sickness is one of the easiest illnesses to tell. . . . . It affects the person from the heart to the head and is considered very bad. The one affected has a breakdown. He is afraid to go out in the dark. He is nervous and afraid of the dark. When it gets dark he vomits. Even little children get it.

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Sudden loss of consciousness is almost always attributed to the evil influence of a ghost: 775 753

A person with ghost sickness loses strength and consciousness. A boy got a ghost spell in the afternoon. Before he reached the house he fell to the ground. He got stiff as a board. They ran over to see what was the matter. They rolled him over on his back. His mouth was twisted. His eyes went up. They picked him up and took him home. They poured cold water on him. After that he came to his senses and got up. He was still weak. He got another spell. His mother went out to see a man and brought him over to the house. This man went to work. When he got through the boy was all right. Since then he has been happy.

The disposal of a corpse has its dangers, for "ghosts don't go right down to the underworld; they stay around the place where they died for a while." 764 775

That is why the Chiricahua doesn't want to live in the place where a person has died, or to handle clothes or bedding that were used by the dead person. If you have an experience with a ghost near a place where a certain person died, you know it is that person who is bothering you.

According to one informant, at least, even the ghost which has made its way to the underworld "has the power to come up and go to the place where it died." Yet "you have to go if a close relative in your own family or your wife's family dies. The group you are in comes to help—to help around camp, to help bury the dead, to help burn up things."

Strangers to the deceased may be exposed to comparable jeopardy accidentally. A man may unwittingly camp for the night at a spot which he later discovers to be the deserted scene of a death. If his sleep is troubled by a terrifying apparition, he will suspect that he has stayed too near a burial place. [787]

The inclination of the ghost to linger around its corpse or its grave and to revisit the site of its demise explains the insistence upon hasty burial, the avoidance of graves, and the departure of the bereaved from their former home. It also accounts for the destruction of the personal possessions of the deceased which are thus freed for use in the hereafter. If this rule is violated, the ghost may come back to claim what is his and to punish those who have withheld his property. Moreover, ghosts may be encouraged to appear if the affectional threads that bind them to [768] 775 [152]

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775 the living are not severed. Therefore, it is dangerous to keep the
[152] dead in mind through excessive grief. "Calling the name of a
[561] dead person any time is dangerous, but it is especially so after
[578] dark." It is an insult to speak the name of the deceased before his kin.

It is obvious that relatives and close friends of the deceased, particularly the former, are most likely to suffer from ghost experiences: "If one is a friend or relative of a dead person or in any way associated with him, there is a fear of his ghost."

[753] Precautions during and after the death rites will not totally
775 eliminate ghost sickness. We remember the man who thought
578 that he was being persecuted for singing a deceased tribesman's ceremonial song and the man who, in a dream, defied the ghost which sought his death, telling it that he would not die because he knew no false ceremony. It takes no great insight to infer that these two men had clashed over the validity of each other's claims of supernatural power. In other words, the fear of the return of the ghost is not unrelated to rivalries of everyday life. The more free from friction relations have been with an individual, the less likely is dread of his ghost to materialize.[14] This was definitely in the mind of the informant who said: "I don't think my father's ghost would come back to bother me. No, my father was a sensible man. He wouldn't do a thing like that. Only those who were trouble-makers in life would bother you that way."

775 The ghosts of enemy peoples, particularly Americans and
648 Mexicans, can cause an illness much like that produced by
753 Chiricahua ghosts but differing from it in some particulars.

When you just go out of your head and want to bite your tongue, and you get scared and numb all over the back and chest, that's sickness from the white man's ghost.

. . . . A white man's [American's] ghost can make you sick. You can always see the ghost that makes you sick [in white man's ghost sickness]. To see an In-

[14] For a socio-psychological interpretation of these fears of the ghosts of relatives and also of the power of living kin see Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. VII (1936), and "Further Comparative Anthropological Data Bearing on the Solution of a Psychological Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. IX (1938).

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you 648
see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican 753
ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not uti- [825]
lize the body of the owl to further its designs.

Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its 825
bite:

If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiri- [761]
cahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead.

B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 825
1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it 753
bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it."

An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the 825
turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would [778]
handle it."

Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [753]
[i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little [533]
but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . [746]
All Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill. [863]

One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon: 825
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K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him. [761]

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825 Later the stricken man died, and another informant observed:

•753 [761] If the vinegarroon gets in your clothes or urinates on you, red marks come out on your body, and if they go around and meet, it kills you. K. was affected by it. He claimed it got in his clothes. It usually breaks out on your shoulder.

A small black water beetle is held accountable for a well-nigh fatal sickness which results when it is swallowed accidentally. Great care is taken, therefore, to see that the drinking water contains none of these insects. Even horses are not exempt from this illness: "If you swallow one, it will kill you. I have seen [755] horses swallow it and die. I don't know any cure for it except to ask some shaman to sing for you."

To be bitten by a centipede causes alarm, for "after it stings you, you'll live one day for each leg it has. I've never heard of a cure for this."

Crow, eagle, buzzard, parrot.—A number of birds besides the owl are considered possible sources of peril, and prominent among these is the crow. One man warned against carrying crow feathers and added, "They say it makes you sick to touch its droppings or anything from it." The opinion is supported by other testimony:

[411] [237] The Chiricahua doesn't use crow feathers for arrows. Crow is one of the worst of all. The sickness you get from Crow is worse than sickness from any other bird its size. In the old days the Chiricahua wouldn't kill a crow. They didn't like the crow to fly around. They were afraid to imitate it just as they were afraid to imitate the call of the owl. The crow is not connected with dead people like the owl, but when the crow comes around they say it means that someone is going to die; they think it is a bad sign.

A certain ambivalence in attitude toward the eagle exists. [237] Eagle feathers are prized for use in ceremonial contexts. But, [262] because eagles "catch lizards and snakes," the people "can't eat the kill of the eagle" (this taboo extends to the kill of hawks as well) and "are afraid of them, wouldn't touch them." It is primarily contact with the talons or bill of the eagle that is feared.

The negative reaction has left its impress on a story of a boy who climbs a cliff, finds an eagle's nest, and brings down an eaglet. He rears the bird and teaches it to hunt for him; but when he first reaches home with it, the people say to him,

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"Throw it away! It will make you sick!" A similar attitude is reflected in this statement: 825 753

When you are sick the shaman may tell you that you have slept on an eagle feather or something like that which has made you ill. You could get sick from the eagle. And there were people [shamans] who knew about that.

Lots of people even felt that it was a bad sign to have an eagle fly around the camps in the old days. When birds are supposed to be wild and to live out in the mountains, they shouldn't come around where people live. It looked to the Chiricahua as if they were being sent when they did come, as if they were a bad sign.

But there are also those who express no fear of the eagle. 825 "Eagle feathers are thought to give a person strength. The eagle is not regarded like a coyote [i.e., inherently evil]." Moreover, [223] eagles are trapped and killed for their feathers, and eaglets are [231] occasionally reared in cages until they can be plucked. [231]

In general an unfavorable overtone and some fear mark comments about the buzzard:

Some are afraid of the buzzard. I remember that, when I'd go to pick up a buzzard feather, my father would call out, "Drop that feather!" Most Chiricahua do not think much about buzzards until they have a ceremony performed over them and a shaman gives them some directions about it, such as not to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or something like that. But these restrictions are not true for every Chiricahua; they are not general.

Another bird that is viewed with circumspection is the parrot:

The Chiricahua were not very familiar with parrots. Once in a while they saw them in Mexico. Only a few people have seen the parrot. They know it mocks you, and they don't like to be around it. They are afraid of it. They say, "Why is it that a bird imitates people? There must be something to it." I have heard people say, "If a bird talks, there must be a witch in him."

Horse, mule, spider, Thunder People, Mountain People.—There 825 are a few creatures and supernaturals which are to be feared only 753 if they are somehow offended. The horse and the mule, the [776] spider, the Thunder People, and the Mountain People comprise this list. Of the first two, it is said:

If you mistreat a horse, if you hit it on the head repeatedly, it may take revenge on you. It will cause you to get sick. Then you must go to a shaman who [755] specializes in the ceremony of the horse. The mule is bad if you mistreat it; it will [756] cause you to be sick too. The man who knows the horse cures both kinds of sickness.

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825 [753] The "sickness" brought by the horse is the injury suffered in an accident for which a horse is held responsible.

If the spider or its web is not molested, there is no need to worry about this insect. But, as an informant explained, "We are all taught not to kill spiders. The spider has power and can do harm if angered."

The Chiricahua will not walk into a spider web. They call the strands of the web sunbeams and say that, if you damage these, Sun will make a web inside you [821] and kill you. The spider web is connected with the sun because it looks just like a sun as it hangs there.

825 783 If you kill a spider, the same thing will happen. If you do kill a spider, there is a rule to follow. If I should kill one, I'd say what I have heard many older people say, "The president killed you." Or they name a white man or someone they don't like—anyone as long as it is not themselves. It's a lie but they do it. They put it off on someone else. This is done, too, when you kill any dangerous insect, like a beetle or a centipede. The danger in killing or injuring a spider is that the next spider will miss the one you killed or hurt and come and harm or bite you.

753 821 [776] The most obvious evidence that the Thunder People are displeased with an individual occurs when he is actually struck by lightning. However, fright is again a powerful sickening agent: "The scare harms you." Lightning is said to be accompanied by an odor which comes from the powder or smoke that arises where it strikes. This powder, if it is inhaled, manifests itself in the ailment recognized as "lightning sickness."

The smoke or dust causes harm as well as the fright. This settles in the body. Lightning sickness affects you inside the body; it affects the stomach. When a person has lightning sickness, he vomits and has a little fever. His feet and hands are cold. He feels sickly and is in poor health generally. Then he should go to a shaman and have a lightning ceremony performed; the sooner the better for him.

A young man described his illness after lightning had struck close to him:

It was so close that I had breathed in all the lightning powder. About two weeks after that I began to be sick. I couldn't eat, and they took me to the hospital. I was sick to my stomach all the time. . . . . I didn't get any better before I went home. My mother-in-law said right away to my wife, "He has the lightning sickness. That powder he breathed in from the lightning has settled in his stomach and turned to frog spittle [i.e., the green growth on stagnant water]."

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it:

When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed. [822]

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth. [264]

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off. [231]

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it. [825]

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The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punishment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked-dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time." [732] [535] [784] [828]

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Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They become unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way." [834] [732]

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To this point the assumption has been that sickness is due to contact with something inherently injurious or to the plottings of the witch. But the last quotation suggests that power, too, may have demands of its own and is capable of vengeance. Power is not always a neutral, not always a force ready to act at the bidding of the shaman or the witch. It may aid the shaman, but only as long as it sees fit to do so, and at a price. It may sponsor the witch, but only to ruin him finally. The duality of power, then, must be read to mean not only that power can be used for good or for evil but that power itself may be good or evil.

Sometimes the evil intentions of power are discernible at first contact. "One can take or leave power. It is dangerous to take sometimes. Sometimes the ceremony that is offered requires some things that are not right. That is why some people refuse it." But power may even deceive the individual who aspires to enjoy its benefits. Many a practitioner has assumed that his power "is for good only" later to face a sad awakening.

He had some pretty songs! I sure liked them. But he told me over here one time, "Never sing them. They are witch songs, my friend. I never knew it for a long time, but I have found out since what they are." . . . . He doesn't sing them now. His power has run out.

Power which has seemed to be beneficent may finally demand that the shaman sacrifice a life to it.[18]

A shaman may succeed for eight or ten times, and then he has to pay for his success. The power, after working for him for a number of times calls on him for a sacrifice, saying, "I have let you work this ceremony so many times; now I want so many men." Then the shaman must pay with men. He is notified through a vision or dream. In the old days they sacrificed the best men in the tribe this way. They did it in battle. They sacrificed the ones in the front of the fight.

Sometimes a good man, when called on to do that, will say to his power, "You should have told me about this in the first place, and I wouldn't have taken the ceremony. This will make no better than a witch out of me. I refuse. You may do what you want." Often they lose their lives that way. Sometimes the power calls on them to sacrifice their own relatives, and they do. Sometimes they refuse. Many times relatives are afraid of a very successful shaman.

[18] In this connection the story of the shaman asked to sacrifice two warriors, introduced on p. 208 to illustrate a different point, will be recalled.

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Then he mixed weeds and white paint and put it over his body. He came back, and Bear said that he didn't smell him any more.

Then Bear told him to take a good rest. "Meanwhile I'll go over and hunt up your people."

He stayed at Bear's home four days. Four days later Bear got home again. He lay down. "I'm very tired," he said. "I found your people far away. Tomorrow we'll start out, and I'll take you to them."

The next morning the man started out with the father bear. They walked all day. About evening they came close to a mountain.

"Where do you want to stay?" Bear asked.

"In a hollow place," the man said.

"No," the bear told him. "It's better on top. It's warmer up there."

They went to the top and stayed there overnight. In the morning they started again. The next day toward sundown they went on top again. The next morning they started and walked all day. At night they went on top again. They carried dried beef with cooked fat and berries in it. The fourth morning they arose before sunup.

"Maybe we will find your people before noon," Bear said. "Then I'll go home."

About noon they found many Indian camps. Bear said, "There are your people. I'm going home now. After this if you or your children get lost, don't be afraid of Bear. Go to Bear's home." Then Bear went home, and the man went into his camp.

He found his wife and children cutting their hair off. In the old days they sometimes cut the hair short and sometimes cut it all off for mourning. They had killed all his horses and thrown away all the things he owned.

That bear had given him a ceremony with songs and prayers when he was in that cave. Then, when he got back to his people, he helped them when they got sick. When he healed sick people, he took a circular piece of rawhide, covered it with buckskin, and painted Bear, Lightning, and Buffalo on it. That was because Bear had told him that Lightning and Buffalo were his friends and their powers all worked together. He would make this for people and put a buckskin cord on it and later give it to them to wear.

Coyote, dog, wolf.—Details of a typical coyote ceremony have already been given[29] and need not be repeated here.

While sickness can be contracted from a dog, at least by a child, a coyote or wolf ceremony is thought sufficient to remove it. A certain amount of ceremonialism has grown up around dogs, but these usages are for the benefit of the dogs and not to cure ailments they have brought.

[29] See pp. 40–41.

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they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

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755 and I go to the person's camp for two nights. Those who want me to work for
756 them have to give me a black-handled knife.[35] That is the rule: without it I cannot work. They give it to me before the ceremony. When my ceremony can help, even though an owl has frightened a person and he is unconscious the first night, he is supposed to get all right the second night.

755 I work with ashes. That is part of the power. My grandmother used ashes and nothing else. Before I do anything else I dip my hand in ashes and make a sign of the cross with the thumb and the first finger of my right hand. Then before praying I rub ashes on the patient. I mark the patient with ashes on the forehead, the top of the head, and the breast.

Then I roll a cigarette. The sick person must puff toward the east. In case the person is unconscious, I do it for him. Then I pray to the directions and send his sickness away. On the patient's head there is something that I can see. I see it that way on a sick person. And I see it on the breast of the sick person, some-
[788] thing that sticks out.[36] I paint the body of the patient with pollen, on both
[782] shoulders and back, going around clockwise. I say prayers to the directions too. I talk to the darkness [owl].

755 In my prayer to the east I say, "Let no one come back from the east to
782 bother this poor person again." I say this so all bad luck regarding the owl will
823 fly away from the patient. Talking to the owl, I say, "You are the one who has done this. Never do this again."

At the south I say, "The downy feathers of the owl must not come back to harm this person again. Stay away from this person altogether, because you are the one who harmed him."

Next I turn toward the west and say, "This person doesn't want to eat. He has something on his breast. Therefore do not allow anybody to come back to harm this sick one. You are able to restore him as he used to be. For your own sake and his, help him to get up again."

I speak to the north now, and I call on darkness too. "Make this person strong. Help him eat again. Give him life again. And never do this again. Let him live to an old age in this world."

755 I pray for just a little while, just as long as these prayers last. Then I start the
533 songs. The first song mentions the east and the south. The only words are,
782 "East, in its head, you listen." This is repeated four times. Then I turn to the south and sing, "South, you listen." The second song just repeats, "West, you
[823] listen; north, you listen." After these songs everything evil from the heart to the head comes out. The third song mentions the flint cross. I make a low humming noise four times at the end of this song. The fourth song says, "In the

[35] Probably a long black flint or obsidian blade preceded the black-handled knife as a ceremonial present for this rite.

[753] [36] The materialization of ghost sickness as a shapeless black or white object has been mentioned before. The inference is that this is really the ghost or the owl, and sometimes it is said to assume the shape of one or the other.

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262 [825]

It is true that the old Chiricahua wouldn't eat fish. They say of fish, "They are slippery and slick just like snakes, and they are relatives to the snakes. They are relatives to the lizards and all the nasty ones." It looks just that way to them. And toads and frogs and tadpoles are classed with snakes. The Chiricahua wouldn't eat them. They never ate fish until they got to Fort Sill. Even now I don't like such things. I get a headache from them. I'm not used to such food, and it doesn't agree with my stomach.

I was up at the Ruidoso River for two years as a guard. I had to look at the passes, and those who didn't have the right ones I chased out. Those campers would bring fish to us every day. The fish were cleaned and fried. I would say to my wife, "Let's try it." We'd try a little, and then we'd have to throw it away. There were those poor fellows running themselves ragged every day trying to catch those fish, and here we were throwing them away just as soon as the people left! Even canned fish doesn't agree with me. My wife can't eat it either. There was no mention of sickness from fish though. I never heard any ceremonial songs about that. Many Indians eat fish now; they go around and fish. [753] [178]

A similar frame of mind is revealed in another account:

People did not fish when I was a boy. Fish was not eaten; it was not an Indian food in the old days. We classed fish with the snake and thought it could bite. We thought it could cause evil influence. There was no ceremony connected with it though. It is only since contact with the whites that fish is eaten. Formerly we had no separate names for different kinds of fish. [825] [177]

A younger man reaffirmed this last statement and added, "We younger people distinguish different kinds of fish. We call catfish 'fish with whiskers' and perch and bass 'fish without bones,' for instance." This young man went on to say: [825]

It is perhaps true that P.'s group might have eaten fish. They were nearer water. At Fort Sill (1894-1913) about one-third didn't eat fish still—this many at least. The old folks didn't care if the young people ate fish. I ate it. I could eat it right next to old men who didn't eat it, and they wouldn't scold. A father would not object if his son ate it, but he would object if his son ate bear meat.

It is undoubtedly true that, since fish is not so definitely an animal of "evil influence" as the bear or the coyote, its use as food is more likely to be left to individual taste. Nevertheless, if the incident that follows is taken as a guide, the young man probably underestimates the animus of many of the older people toward fish: [825]

The old people won't eat fish or pork. Some won't eat pork yet, and few will eat fish. If my mother eats a little pork, it makes her sick right away. She won't have fish around at all.

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Only two play against each other at a time. When they start to play, one takes the hoop, and they walk to the center. Each man is holding his pole. These poles are long, almost as long as the playing field. One of the poles is colored red at the butt end. The one with the hoop rolls it toward the grass ridges, using an underhand motion. When the hoop is about to fall over, the men slide their poles after it. Each wants the butt of his pole to fall under the hoop. The butt of the pole is notched and marked, and each notched part which shows up under the hoop counts so much. The hoop is notched too, and it also has a knotted string tied across the middle. We call these knots "beads"; the biggest knot is in the middle.[6] You make something, too, according to the notches or the "beads" which cross the pole. All these notches have names. You agree on how much they should count before the game begins, and you agree how many points are needed to win.

The two men play from the center, first to the east, and then to the west. Only the winning throw is counted each time, and only one score, that of the man who is ahead, is kept. What he gets is added to his score and what the other fellow gets is subtracted from it. Men gamble a great deal on this game.[7]

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In a real game of this kind you are not allowed to cross the playing field from the east while anyone is throwing. That's the rule. I don't know why it is, but they play it like that. And they don't allow any dog near the grounds where they are playing hoop-and-pole. Also it is strictly forbidden any girl or woman to go anywhere near the hoop-and-pole ground. Any woman who comes around will get swollen joints and pains in her legs. And it would sort of paralyze her. The women never come near the place; they go a long way to avoid it. If a woman even comes in sight, the men straighten up and hold the pole up straight until she passes out of sight. Women and children know where the ground is and keep away from it. There are a good many things to remember in this game. A man who is playing doesn't like anyone to step on his shadow. It makes him lose his luck.

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Little material is forthcoming concerning the origin and mythological background of the game, but the words of one informant suggest an association between the pole and the snake:[8]

[6] One informant claims that there should be 50 "beads" on each side of the big "bead," making a total of 101. Another described a hoop which had 30 "beads" on each side of the big "bead." Evidently there are minor variations in the "ways" of the hoop-and-pole makers.

[7] When the trickster Coyote loses all his possessions in a gambling game, it is, characteristically, the hoop-and-pole game he is said to have been playing.

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[8] When M. R. Harrington purchased a hoop-and-pole set from its Chiricahua maker in 1909, he was told: "The red paint on the wheel and on one pole represents a snake. Two men were arguing as to who had the strongest supernatural power. Finally, one took a snake and made a hoop of it to show his power. Not to be outdone, the other took a snake and transformed it into a pole. Then, as

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death occurs near by, others take off their red clothes at once. It is because red is colorful and stands for a good time. If your relative dies and you see someone wearing red, you say, "Well, that fellow wore red when I was sad. When his relative dies, I'm going to wear red just for meanness." Fights and bad feelings can start from this; enemies can be made in this way.

And yet, in spite of all the determined efforts to obliterate the memory of the dead, a prolonged period of formal mourning is sanctioned:

For some time after the death of his wife a man will not dress in fine clothes or colors. And he won't go to social dances. He won't even be invited, because the people know he isn't thinking of such things. A woman will not attend the social dancing at a puberty rite, though it is held several months after her husband's death. She will wait about a year before she will go to such affairs.

Moreover, regardless of all warnings concerning the danger of excessive grief, some individuals find it impossible to repress their sorrow:

A woman may wail for a dead relative before sunrise for years after he dies if some special calamity has come which she thinks wouldn't have come if the relative were alive. Or she may wail when she sees a special friend of her dead son, or one who is of the same age and looks like him.

While the relatives are observing the necessary rites, the ghost of the departed makes its way or is led by other ghostly kin to the underworld, "a beautiful place beneath the ground, where a nice stream of water flows between banks that are lined with cottonwood trees, and everything is green." This home of the departed has been variously termed by informants "where the cottonwoods stand in a line," "ground that is streaked with red," "underground," "where they go off," and "where they go down." The last two names refer to the manner of reaching this subterranean paradise:

Our concept is down, a place beneath. When I was a child, many years ago, the Chiricahua never talked about where other Indians go at death. They just talked about where their own people, the Chiricahua, go. We think of a dead person going on to another life—of his whole body, as it was on earth, going to the other world. He is really transferred to that other world.

When a person is very sick and is unconscious, it is said that he is somewhere else, that his ghost has gone where the dead people are, to visit his friends. If he regains consciousness, it is because his ghost gets back again, and when he gets well he may tell where he was. Every once in a while someone has an experience like this. That is how we know where the place is and what it looks like.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

821 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restric-
784 tions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects dis-
776 played during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in
224 order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat
825 before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance
224 of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the
784 hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take
[264] pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

263 picked, cut open, dried on sticks, and used in sweetening different foods.

262 [178] The fruits of various genera of cacti are still used as food but no longer constitute an important article of diet among these Apache. Formerly the Chiricahua Apache, [137] who ranged in western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and to the south in Old Mexico, utilized as food the fruit of the sahuaro or giant cactus *(Carnegiea gigantea)* and of the organ-pipe cactus or pitahaya dulce *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*. Their name for it was *madaya*, an Apache corruption of pitahaya. [171] The gathering and utilization of these fruits by the Chiricahua Apache was not unlike that reported by Castetter and Underhill *(5:*21) for the Papago; [184] the reader is referred to that paper for a discussion of the subject. The Mescalero Apaches never have used these species as they do not grow within their present or past range.

252 262 [413] [824] [251] [824] The ripe fruit of a number of species of Opuntia, prickly pear cactus, was commonly utilized as food. The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff stems of sacaton grass *(Sporobolus wrightii)* while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in burden baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it [251] enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked [153] form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever; Bourke *(2:*44) corrobor- [222] ates this. The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women [482] collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part [251] of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food.

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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Chiricahua

CHIRICAHUA APACHE MATERIAL RELATING TO SORCERY

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THE major anxieties of the Chiricahua Apache Indians of the Southwest relate to sickness and to sorcery. However, since much of the sickness is explained, directly or indirectly, in terms of the use of evil power (sorcery), the greatest consternation is caused by the likelihood of attacks through baneful supernatural means.

Chiricahua Apache do not like to discuss the topic of witchcraft. Some informants who were willing to talk about anything else, even the most intimate matters, simply refused to give information on this subject. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, to demonstrate too much knowledge of witchcraft places a person under suspicion of being a witch himself; too great a familiarity with the ways of those who "kill in secret" is considered a result of unhealthy interests or dubious practices. Also, an element of risk is involved. To speak freely about witches is to invite their attention and persecution, especially if the comments, as those of any decent Apache should be, are critical. Finally, the entire area of thought is so conducive to fear and so completely filled with unpleasant memories that the ordinary informant shrinks from exposing himself to the dreams and thoughts which are likely to follow such a discussion. Usually it is only when he is burning with indignation over some "evidence" of witchcraft or when he is in the midst of a feud with someone whom he is prepared to label a witch that the Chiricahua will express himself on this subject.

Thus the five accounts published here deal with an aspect of Chiricahua culture about which it is difficult to recover abundant material. They illustrate the Chiricahua Apache concept of the

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

"Live around here. I will be around here with your daughter. One day when you go to war I will be by your side, but you won't see me. If you see a crow fly, it will be I. If you see a coyote, it will be I. If you want to go to war or on a raid, come here first and even if I am not here, talk, and I will be here. Tell me where you are going and ask my advice. Go home. The next day I will draw a picture of what you will get. I will draw deer tracks, horse tracks, and show where you are going to get them. If you see cattle or horse tracks, it means you will get plenty."

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

Immunity from some of the ordinary perils is another of the benefits which usually accompanies shamanism.

Some men use hawk feathers for arrows, but some are afraid. You have to know power to do it. Only a hawk shaman would do it. It's the same with the buzzard. Not everybody could use the feathers. Formerly the Chiricahua could get very sick from the buzzard.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

The principal function and attribute of the possessor of a power grant, however, is to cure sickness, and the Chiricahua who is able to practice an effective curing ceremony earns respect and even riches.

When I was a boy, a good shaman was highly respected. These are the ones who are known to have kind hearts and that nobody calls witches. A good shaman is wealthy, for he's out curing and everybody gives him something for his cures.

If sickness strikes and special knowledge and ceremony are required, a shaman is hired. It is accepted that he or one of his fellow ceremonialists will, through the cooperation of supernatural power, learn the cause of the difficulty and the proper course of action. The service of supernatural power may range from producing a simple herbal remedy to revealing the identity of a sorcerer.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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756 778 787 me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to find out whether it is all right to go on with it.

756 778 784 The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the ceremony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the power, in addition.

A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

[761] [753] When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207–10.)

756 778 787 182 Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close association with his power source in a positive light. It provides him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scolding it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.